Caranga-
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/ to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered. Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

/116 cont./

651 659 that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, 163 849 [849] [858] and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

162 [439] One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have [439] shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

197 [197] The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

Chipaya--33 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uro SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly had have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

2:Mdwaco--129 E-3 (1930-1931) 1935.1938 SF24 Uto SF24

Cayapaya-
Cajaya

/393 cont./

with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Cipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their buildings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[152] poses. The husband gave out a few more tears over the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
165 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire.
[151] Among the Cipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[150] him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

121 The stay that I made among the Cipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[151] this task was not always easy for me. The Cipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word
[124] of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

/Uro cont./ word, as much in Cipaya as
in Aymara, has been adopted by Aymara. I have indicated in my
dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk,
those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kallua /Quechua/ roots
with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will
see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with
the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be,
always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply
added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots
which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have
traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases
with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro
word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it
fluently. "Cipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent
from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to
use their old languages; even the women, who hardly ever leave their
village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Ay-
mara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle be-
tween the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
weaker and more backward people. In the Cipaya dialect words as
common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before
their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the
state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only
affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, ad-
verbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the
large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Cipaya. I myself
was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language
of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact
with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have
attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Cipaya
made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish element
that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

/338 cont./

borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
197 Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system compli-
115 cated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

/147 cont./

114 this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist.

195 There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

126 During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

128 The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conver-

121 sations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

115 [195] Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in

[191] phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/148 cont./

115 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the
191 neighboring populations.

114 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937
191 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words
[197] of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

114 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their
197 language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-
[197] grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

/149 cont./

115 [147] large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Keŝwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

[91]

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical [144] appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology [848] /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un- [191] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Keŝwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving [191] Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 184 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/ language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

128 191 For each text we shall indicate the informant who provided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

/179 cont./

*539 115 191 The whole of this text, the phonetics as well as the vocabulary and syntax, is less correct than the accounts of old Manuel Inta, who belongs to the generation prior (he is nearly 90 years old) to that of the new narrator (Carlos Kispe), who is about 50 years old.

*539 191 192 1. puKáta is an Aymara word, a language which the informant knows rather well; húxk'-čáč' for huxk'-ačáčay, "we can depart." The narrator sometimes says čurk, and sometimes čork or čark, literally, "large," "strong"; this form indicates the superlative here. 3. The Uru have no special word for the mast; they simply call it "the wood" of the sail. 8. The correct form would be šaxka-čúčay. 9. The narrator moreover has a tendency to transform the final -čay into -ča (6) or to elide it into ač' (1); he always omits it with substantives and adjectives. 12. The informant says Kás-si instead of the correct form k^{w}á-si, "water." He often confuses e and i, sometimes saying čúke and sometimes čúki.

VI. The Fishing Enclosure
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 163 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. This is a fishing enclosure. 2. This enclosure is made to catch fish. 3. We are accustomed to closing the entrance (of the enclosure) with a net. 4. We lift the net quickly with this stick. 5. On this river there is another net. 6. There are enclosures for each of us, very far away from each other. 7. Thus each of us can fish.

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[118] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[191] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[152] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hẹp' šeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
[961] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[829] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: čа instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ʒi- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- ʒis. 6. háskẹ indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

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Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kõ- čay is used for kõ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

● [191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes čí- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

/187/

*539
115

XI. Farewells
(Dialogue dictated by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 169 /in the foreign text/)

Translation

1. Dost thou not find it difficult to go away? 2. With much reluctance I shall go to my house. 3. Dost thou want to stay or dost thou want to leave? 4. I wish to go away. 5. Stay longer; it is better to stay now. 6. While thou travelest toward thy house, thou mightst meet a storm. 7. Eat thy meal; afterward thou shalt leave. Thy wife will be able to see thee from afar.

Remarks

We heard this short dialogue at Tihuanaco between our two informants, Carlos Kıspe, who was staying with us, and old Manuel Inta, in a hurry to return home. Carlos Kispe repeated
● [191] it to us. The usual mistakes of this informant are to be again found here: the use of wáli, an Aymara word meaning "much"; transformation of the ending čay into ča; frequent elisions.

*539
193 1. kún, an interrogative particle which is placed before the verb; compare kúmi- pèk' (5). Note the future forms -kičay, used in this whole dialogue, and tú lún táni, literally, "to take trouble." 2. kinák', a particle which is placed after the object, indicating direction with motion. 3. The Uru have no conditional or dubitative form; they present the two proposals without any conjunction. 4. káli, "from here"; a particle which is placed after the verb, indicating departure from the place where one is. 6. káma, a particle placed after the verb; it is common to Keŝwa and to Aymara, meaning "whilst." 7. -stáni, a particle placed after the verb, meaning "after." /188/ 8. t' kúwa, a contraction; the correct form

4:Vellard--16 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24
[16th - 17th Centuries]

/40 cont./

175 (Manuscriptos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero /Peruvian Manuscripts in Foreign Libraries/, published by Ruben Vargas Ugarte, 1935. Vol. I, pp. 270-71.)

175 648 Report on the Province of the Pacajes

...and when the Incas came and conquered this Province of the Pacaxes they caused the Uro Indians to leave the vicinity of the water, and made them live with the Aymaras and taught them to live on and cultivate the land, and ordered them to pay tribute of fish and to make straw hampers. Since they were very crude people, they did not order them, as they usually did, to worship the sun and serve it; and through the contact they have had with the highland Indians they have come to speak the Aymara language and have almost given up their own language, which was Puquina..../Translated from the Spanish./

[177] [197]

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1897, Vol. II, p. 55.)

000 /The bibliography on pp. 40-41 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

THE URU-CHIPAYA

By Weston La Barre

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Uru* (*Uro, Huno, Ochomazo, Ochozuma, Uchumi, Kjotsuni, Bukina, Pukina, Puquina, Urocolla, Uroquilla, Yuracare* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yuracare*), *Kiuchacatati* or "Big-livered People," and *Chancumankkeri* or "Water-greens Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, *No. 6;* map 4). "Uro" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina.*

The *Uru* language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara.* It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Oré, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of De la Grasserie (1894). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero *Uru* is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an *Uro-Chipaya* family. Rivet's classification of *Uru* as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider *Uro-Chipaya* to be an independent linguistic family.

Uru was called a "lengua general" of Perú by 16th-century writers (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Sucre and *Uru* settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. *Uru* evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times.

The Highland *Uru* all now speak both *Aymara* and *Uru,* and a few know a little Spanish.

The *Uru* of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally to the *Chango* and are sometimes even called *Chango.* They are said to be descendants of the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (mitimaes) in *Inca* times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace

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not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

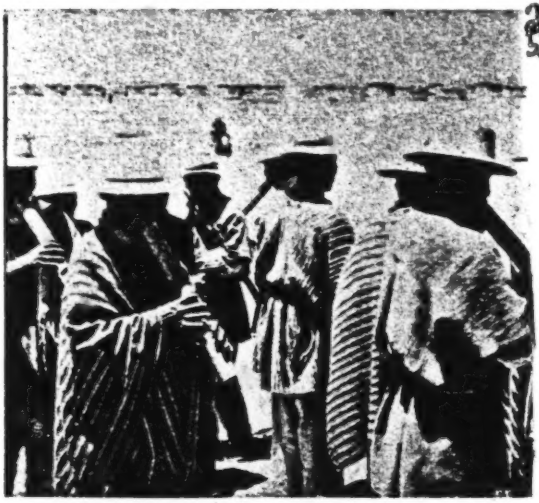
Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes



Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Iru Itu

in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked [126] the purest of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

[363] A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spa- [191] nish said she was well over a hundred. Had she [165] been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the [126] recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realizing that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and [276] still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca,* lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come momenta-

[g. 309 - B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the heretofore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

3. There is an as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uro." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems:[9]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	či
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	ček
Four	tahua	pusi	sper	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'snuku
Six	soccta	soχta	chichun	taχčuku
Seven	canchis	paqalqo	stu	Doko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	ǰatunka	checa	san'Gu
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (shi; piske; chep; pácpic, páctic; pacnucu; pacchui; tohoco; cohonco; sankau; kalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language *bukina*, *pukina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[9] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Races*, p. 223; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hunq'o-haq'e* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancoaqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111–128, 325–415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155–207, 337–394; *idem*, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 28) pp. 75–110; *idem*, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropoligist 12: 417–24, 1910), pp. 412–413.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[18] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

Tribal Relations. In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkilu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

Physical Anthropology. Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[18] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.